20: Koenig E-4 (no date) 1937 RD1 Ukraine RD1

to divert the hail or cloudburst to an enemy's field.[65] For this reason they are sometimes looked upon as malevolent persons in league with an evil spirit.[66]

The *hradiwnyk* or *chmarnyk* may control the weather either in the individual case or for the entire year. His methods differ widely, ranging from the utterance of simple formulas to the institution of elaborate ceremonies involving mysterious instruments. Naturally, the more elaborate the means, the more effective the results are believed to be. To avert a hail or a cloudburst the weather expert must have a special wand, called *koszturnik*. This implement is usually fashioned from a limb broken off from a knobby bladder-knot tree, and it acquires its magical potency by being used to separate a frog and a snake engaged in a life and death struggle. Such struggles often occur in the mountainous region in the spring, and are so fierce that the combatants foam at the mouth. Touching the foam endows the wand with mysterious power. Other instruments widely used by weather-men include the scythe, the hatchet, and sharp tools in general.[67]

Conjuration in the individual case, i.e. whenever a storm approaches, is performed in the following manner. As soon as a hailstorm is in evidence, the *hradiwnyk* repairs to the field, where he either undresses completely or else retains only his shirt. He then takes his hat in one hand and a scythe in the other, and utters his formulas, which are intended to divert the hail to a road, a river, a forest, or the field of an enemy.[68] A wand of the type described above, if the weather-man has one, is, of course, more effective than a scythe. Should such a conjuration prove ineffective, the *hradiwnyk* simply presents his hind part to the hail—a last resort which is considered infallible.[69] An approaching torrent or cloudburst, too, is prevented by simple means. As soon as a heavy cloud appears, the *chmarnyk* runs outdoors and diverts the storm in any desired direction by merely pointing with his wand.[70]

[65] Kaindl, in *Mitt. k.k. geogr. Gesellsch.*, xxxvii, 626.
[66] Kolberg, *Pokucie*, iii, 121. [67] Kaindl, in *Globus*, lxxvi, 252, 253.
[68] Kaindl, in *Mitt. k.k. georg. Gesellsch.*, xxxvii, 626. [69] *Idem.*
[70] Kaindl, in *Globus*, lxxvi, 253.

22: Koenig E-4 (no date) 1938 RD1 Ukraine RD1

infant.[27] The mountaineers, moreover, hold these spirits, some of whom are males, responsible for adultery.[28] The mountaineers likewise believe in a class of supernatural beings, called *czynatary*, who cause quarrels among people. These spirits throw an ant hill full of ants into a burning oven, and just as the ants have no way of escape, so the members of the stricken household cannot help quarreling amongst themselves, and may even go as far as to commit murder.[29]

The so-called *letawica*, or evil spirit of a falling star, is unquestionably the ghost of a wicked being. When it descends to earth it takes on human form of very enticing appearance. It may appear, the people hold, either in male or, less often, in female form, but it is always characterized by youth, beauty, and a slender figure. The *letawica* appears to boys and girls, especially to the latter, in lonely places, when the first promptings of love have been aroused in them. Allured by its display of passion, a girl falls readily into its arms, whereupon it begins sucking the sweetness of youth from her mouth. So passionate is its embrace that the victim gradually loses her freshness, withers, fades and finally dies in its arms.[30]

According to a widespread popular belief, certain objects or manifestations of nature are fetishes, i.e. they serve as dwellings for evil spirits, and, consequently, must be avoided with great care. One such object is the elder (*byzyna*). One must not dig around it, above all not remove any of its roots, for in them dwells an evil spirit who will cause the hand of any one who disregards the taboo to wither or even bring death to him or to a member of his family.[31] Objects of unusual shape, in particular, are believed to harbour evil

[27] *Ibid.*, III, 100-1.

[28] Szuchiewicz, *op. cit.*, IV, 282.

[29] *Ibid.*, IV, 286.

[30] Wagilewicz, *op. cit.* (Quoted by O. Kolberg, *Pokucie*, III, 103.)

[31] Kolberg, *Przemyskie*, p. 235.

22: Koenig E-4 (no date) 1938 PDI Ukraine RDJ

spirits. A gnarled and crooked tree, for example, should never be felled, lest the anger of its indwelling spirit be aroused. Stones shaped like an egg should not be moved for a similar reason. Crossroads are to be avoided as much as possible, for "the evil spirits, upon being driven out of paradise, have settled there, continuing their malicious activities and causing people all manner of ills".[32] Even natural phenomena may be infested with malevolent spirits. When a whirlwind sucks up a column of dust, the people say that a devil's wedding is taking place. On seeing a twister one must immediately sit down on the ground and recite a formula, especially designed for the occasion; otherwise the whirling dust may get under one's feet and cause them to be crippled.[33]

The beings who constitute the spirit environment of the Ukrainian peasant are predominately malevolent. Though a few of them, like the *letawica* and the *topelnyk*, are restricted to a specialized activity, the great majority are capable of causing all kinds of human misery, besides the power they wield over natural forces. They consume the milk from the cows, send sleep upon a man when he is supposed to be keeping watch, uproot trees, roll rocks down from the mountains, send lightning and thunder, cause the death of sheep, and account for the failure of crops. They also cause physical and mental abnormalities, criminal tendencies, and excessive human desires and passions. Deformed children, idiots and imbeciles are the work of vampires and the *diwe-baby*; and murder, quarrels, adultery and sexual irregularities are incited by other malignant ghosts.

[32] Kaindl, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

[33] Kolberg, *Pokucie*, III, 91